174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese
are valuable materials provided they are used with
care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much
as possible, from these sources and have used archaeo-
logical investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called
the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu.
144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern
Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitu-
tion differed from those of the present Ainu and whose
descendants had existed until relatively recent times.
While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-
day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that
the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into
contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records,
were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the
present Ainu together with what records do exist on
the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error,
raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

221 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in
●184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing
stage." By the time records of them began to appear
[241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with
millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products.
This was in the southwestern part of the island where
climatic conditions were favorable and where they came
in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts
[231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals,
were used and the people had progressed from the
stage where they relied on natural food to growing food
themselves. However this use of agriculture was pri-
262 marily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and
food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources,
the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only
supplements, so that they were still a hunting and
fishing people. Their food, which was very simply
prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting
and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1]
291 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles
from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth]
[286] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods
used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques
[288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2]
and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal
[177] skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which
were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish,
had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3]
and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

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[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) **16**: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
[291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
[323] Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc.; grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
● [184] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[262] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
[291] fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
[492] still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities,
small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
[177] infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
556 gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
in lieu of the death penalty

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[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

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683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three
nights without food or sleep."[59] However, in most
[692] cases, the chief or an elder was present to render
judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was
based on precedent and it seems that the various trials
and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable
elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the
public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached
a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed
696 down.[60] Execution of punishment was not necessarily
carried out by the chief but was left up to the group
and only when a case concerned the entire village or
could not be settled by the group was the chief called
upon for his decision. There were no set codes of
punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out
for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed
according to precedent and custom. For example, in
684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which
●184 we find the most frequent mention in the records,
562 the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East]
says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the
man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death
with a club and cast into sea." While there is some
doubt that this was the standard punishment we find
in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were
wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the
sea,[61] which is a confirmation of the existence of the
death penalty. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks,
"When a married woman committed adultery her hair
was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Ezo
Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punishment.
"In general the law of the Ainu was not
684 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was
punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases
seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai
Zuihitsu* [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention
this: "When there was misconduct treasure was ordered
to be given to the other party as a token of apology
and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen
Zokuwa:* "It was a serious matter when a married
woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and
the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From
the *Watarishima Hikki:* "When adultery was exposed,
the culprits were punished by law. However, at times,
there would be an arbitration and the parties would be
reconciled with the payment of atonement." According
to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru*
which will be discussed later.[62] The *Hokuto Sanjin
Monogatari* [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is
seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However,
if it happens and becomes known to the husband he
immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my
sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

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[59] *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu.*

[60] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 237.

[61] Nagata Hosei, Ainu no shikei (Death penalty of the Ainu), *Keirin* 7: 28.

[62] *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241.

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cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14]—in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

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1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* **24**. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* **5**: 201.

[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* **10**. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

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*648 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi
while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni
*175 had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and
Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this
166 small number was steadily diminishing as can be found
in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred
not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved
A inland and very few are seen these days." According to
a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae
[162] consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses
A F and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of
*648 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese
but also have their cause in the spread of contagious
*175 diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a
foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century.
161 The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa
and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox
[164] and measles." The decrease in population frustrated
A F any Ainu attempt to organize self-government
*648 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought
them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in
*175 the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special
177 treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The
Ezo Dan Hikki shows this contrast when, in regard to
A F the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there
*648 is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands.
Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring
*175 with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living
near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the
651 daimyō. But while they work some of the land they
do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—
fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting
firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute
for land tax but was imposed on all the residents
in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment
to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae
were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a
five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers
while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven
bundles each." These payments applied to those who
A had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in
● [184] Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and
on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae
control and had just begun to trade and although involved
in disputes with each other were independent.
The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political
relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have
the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of
1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control
A and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese
F jurisdiction in 1799.

*648 When all the above facts are considered it seems that
*175 the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native
177 control.

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[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

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was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

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> Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

A F [584] [579]

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

A ● [184]

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island.

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Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

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[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

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[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

A F *648 *175 436 [433] So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19] A ● [184]

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C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

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Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

A [436] [16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shūhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

E A *648 177 *175 511 *Ezo Zakki* [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes ~~the~~ The situation of that time:

> The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

A F *648 *175 439 The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was A [184] taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.[30] Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.[31] It was therefore decided to place East Ezo back under the contract system and F [675] in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In adF [202] dition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.[32] The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

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[30] Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

[31] Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

[32] According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the F [656] office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu.

"We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

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were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

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4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

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[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

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CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 The Government of Hakodate
To The Bakufu Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

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Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,[59] dress their hair *à la* Japanese, and change their names.[60] Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.[61] According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

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women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tatoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

[59] "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

[60] For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kozukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

[61] The following is found in Abe Masami, Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kozukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei
Conversion Tag
Previous name
Toiken
Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

A

Upon hearing the news, they made themselves many arrows and prepared themselves for war. 539 648

"By and by the winter came and some of the Ainu people of Taran took their lines and went fishing through holes made in the ice. Suddenly there appeared, coming down from the lake, a great bunch of reindeer. The Oroks rode them, carrying on their backs quivers well filled with arrows. They rushed suddenly upon the Ainu who were fishing, and, taking them unawares, shot at them as they were busy holding their lines at the ice holes and killed them all. But there was one man there doing nothing; he was idle and empty-handed. This man rushed off post haste to Taraika. Although the pursuing man rode a swift reindeer after him, he was unable to overtake him. Just midway between Taran and the mouth of the river at Taraika there was a grave in which a man had been buried. To this the fleeing man rushed, wrenched the lid* off the coffin, and took out a bow covered with thin layers of bone and two arrows which had been put in with the corpse.** These being now in his hands, he tightened the bow string and placed one of the arrows in readiness for the approaching Oroks who were seeking his life. As they came nearer he drew the bow against them. But the string snapped, so that it was quite impossible for him to defend himself further. Then the Oroks shot their arrows at him and killed him. G 648

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* The coffins were left with the tops above ground.

A 764 184

**Thus, then, we have it clearly stated that in olden times the Northern Ainu did, some of them, bury in coffins, and also that they did not always break the bows and arrows before placing them beside the corpse, in both of which respects they differed from the Ainu of Yezo. Some of the bows of the best kind which were used by the Saghalien Ainu had thin slithers of bone, like those used by the inhabitants of the Amur region, twisted round them. This, I believe, was for ornamentation as well as to strengthen them. In Yezo the bark of the cherry tree was so used, and they looked very pretty.

A [411 171]

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual
and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction
with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in
the national bear festival. He had to attend to the
division of the land among his people, to point out
to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle
disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name
children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the
decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This
was sometimes practised in secret by the people when
I first went among them. That they had recognized
advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
● [184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a
great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher
place than her husband. The husband and father, in
Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with
his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586 any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought
proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to
be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions
in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me
[762] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places
[184] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

higher forms, paradoxical as it may appear, it is looked 761 upon as both spirit and matter, substance and attribute, at one and the same time. It is not the essence that changes but its manifestation. The personal spirit itself is the principle of life behind the life—the very indestructable quintessence of being. Unless one knows this to be their faith, he will find that there are many little things in their daily life which he cannot hope to understand.

It is this faith, indeed, handed down from generation to generation for thousands of years, that has produced such an enigma among us. An enigma which cannot in the nature of things last much longer in this age of progress. There is now no place left in the world for either material or spiritual atrophy.

I used to think that this people had a very great fear of death, but during my long sojourn among them, I have had to modify my opinion on this matter considerably. That some do fear it immensely is as true with them as with other individuals among other [184] races, for I have been with many of them at the time of death and seen that it is so; but then there are many others who do not seem to dread it at all. I will give just one concrete example.

I went to a certain village one day where there were many Christians. As soon as I arrived I was told that a poor woman was then in the act of dying from pleurisy. I asked why they had not sent for the doctor, and was told that he was away and would not be back again for a week and that they could not afford to send to a distant village for another. Would I come in to see her? As her pastor, I did so of course. When I got in I was greatly surprised to find her sitting by the hearth, well bolstered up with mattresses. She could hardly breathe, as she suffered agonies when she tried to do so. I counted sixteen women sitting about the hut, very busy indeed making garments in which to dress her corpse before burial. This was going on

completely paralyzed. The members of his family 761
would not rest till I had come up to his body and laid my hands on his head in blessing. They all thought he was quite dead, but I had my doubts about it. I called him loudly by name, when without any movement on his part, he answered "Ha." Yet the people
said they were sure he was dead and that his answer [764]
had come back from the nether world. The poor old fellow was buried the next day.

"That people continue to live after the death of the body," so runs the story, "is made plain by dreams, for that the dead sometimes really show themselves to people in dreams during sleep is matter of common experience. Once upon a time, a great chief died and the people of his village shed many tears; they wept both loudly and long. The death wail reached his ears even in the nether world and made him very unhappy. He therefore appeared to the people in a dream and asked them to cease weeping, for the noise they were making worried him; otherwise he was very comfortable indeed."

When a person dies, the body is dressed in its best 764
clothes and laid lengthwise by the hearth, the feet toward the doorway, ready for the departure to Hades. Should the deceased be a man, his bow, arrows and quiver, his pipe, tobacco-box, fire sticks and tinder or flint and steel for obtaining light, a long and short knife, a sword, a cup and tray, moustache-lifters and a small bundle of clothes are placed by his side. The clothes are cut or torn and the other things broken or chipped. All these articles are buried with the body. The cutting, chipping and breaking are said to be done in order to kill the things and send their spirits off to heaven with the corpse.

A young man—a cripple—died on our premises at 184
Sapporo some years ago. He was a Christian and I 764
gave him Christian burial, taking the service myself. Our man-servant, Parapita, came with us to the grave.

184 764 I was very much surprised when all was over to see this good man toss the cripple's crutches (broken) into the grave and call out in a loud voice, "Here are your crutches; you may find them a help on your way to heaven." That was the *amen* to our service.

764 Should the corpse be that of a woman, some needles and thread, some native and Japanese clothes of various colours and kinds, a set of weaving implements, spoons, ladles and cups, and her trinkets, such as beads and earrings, are placed by her side. Children also have a cup, a spoon, some clothes, toys, and trinkets placed by them. They are all damaged in some way and then buried with their former owner. Thus the dead one is sent away well provided.

When a death has taken place, messengers are sent off at once to relations and friends to tell them the sad news and invite them to the funeral. A blazing fire is made at the time of death, so as to bring back warmth, that is life, to the body, if possible. On one occasion I saw that the corpse was shod with some pieces of white calico my wife had a few days previously given a man to bind up a wounded foot with, and I then found out that nothing could please them better than to get hold of one of my old white nightshirts to be buried in. That, they seemed to think, would be sure to take them to a high place in the celestial regions!

[415]

A WOODEN CUP AND BOWL

As soon as the deceased has had his face and hands washed, and the body has been properly clad and laid out, a large cup filled with food, or a cake of millet, is placed at the head, while water or Japanese *saké* is set by the food. These are allowed to remain there for

764 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins.
184 I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow
[587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods
[765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

The following is a remarkable legend of the Tungus 583
and is interesting inasmuch as it offers an explanation as to how it first came about that their women made the first offers to the men for marriage.

It is well known among the Ainu that there is an 144
admixture of Orok, Ghilyak and Tungusic blood in the veins of some of their folk who live in the north. The legend now to be given is not really Ainu but is from the Oroks, as told about the Tungus, and recited in the northern Ainu dialect. As might perhaps be expected, [184]
the language is a little mixed, for it contains words in Orok, Ghilyak, Tungus and Ainu; with one word also in Oltchy and another from up the Amur River.

"Long, long ago, in very ancient times indeed, there 539
were two Tungus, a father and his son, living together in the same house. They were very poor. Some distance away from them there lived in another village a rich man together with his wife, also Tungus. The rich man went hunting among the mountains with his dogs every season, and killed many animals. He took large numbers of pine-martens, otters and foxes. As for the poor man, he also went hunting every year with his dogs but could get no more than about ten pine-martens, ten otters and ten foxes. His rich neighbours heard about this and chuckled.

"One year, after the poor man had finished setting his snares for pine-martens, he went farther into the mountains with his dogs to hunt game. He spent the first night in the open, and the next day went on again still farther. He continued thus daily till he came to the rich man's village. He entered his house and found that the husband was away from home. The wife was alone in the house and he was very much pleased to find her there. On looking round he was highly delighted to see the house full of pelts hanging in clusters. They were pine-marten, otter and fox skins. It was a sight grand to behold. The beautiful housewife

361 511 609 I came across several Ainu huts on my way, passed the village of Pensatsunai—six Ainu huts—on the Satsunai river, an affluent of the Tokachi, and then arrived at Obishiro in the afternoon. There are seven houses at Obishiro. I entered one of them, and to my astonishment I found myself in front of an old man and a pretty woman, whose appearance and manners were as refined as those of the better classes in Japan. A younger man also came in. Their astonishment was as great as mine, as they had not seen any civilised beings since they had been there. Though the outside of their dwelling was not prepossessing, the inside was so clean that I felt as if I had dropped into heaven. After what I had gone through, this unexpected *rencontre* brought me back to life and a belief in the proprieties of a civilised existence, almost forgotten by now!

000 These people had a romantic history. Watanabe Masaru—the younger man—was a Japanese gentleman by birth and education, but he had no fortune. Of an adventurous disposition, clever, sensitive, and tired of the conventionalities of his fatherland, he decided eight or ten years ago to emigrate to Hokkaido, and there lead the life of a colonist. The woman he loved was as brave and constant as he. She sailed with him and her father from Japan, and after a long and perilous journey in a junk (sailing boat), they landed at the mouth of the Tokachi River. In Ainu canoes they went up the river, and established themselves at Obishiro, far from civilisation, nearly in the centre of Yezo. At first they had a [609] great deal of trouble with the natives, but now they are loved by all. There, with two lovely children, they lead an ideal life, far from the madding crowd and noise of the world, and freed from the vulgarity of society.

361 I rode on to Frishikobets village, situated on the Frishiko, "old river," and in the midst of a beautiful plain. There are only twenty-eight houses, and they are scattered about in the plain at a distance of several hundred yards one from the other. Some of the huts were hidden in the forest. A peculiarity of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi River is, that they 342 frequently cover their dwellings and storehouses with the bark 184 of trees, instead of with reeds, as is the custom among the Ainu of the Saru River and Volcano Bay.

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small 231
bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival;
and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households
chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from
their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also 114
much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano [144]
Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited [721]
these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of
the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been
particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against
each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women
stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are
even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages.
They are said not only to have murdered people, but
also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, [266]
cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of
their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the 157
only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call 181
them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different
from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but [266]
that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle,
and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations
through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to
say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is
civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo
where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will
remember, is the village where they were said to be "very
civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from 197
the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of 184
the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was
there.

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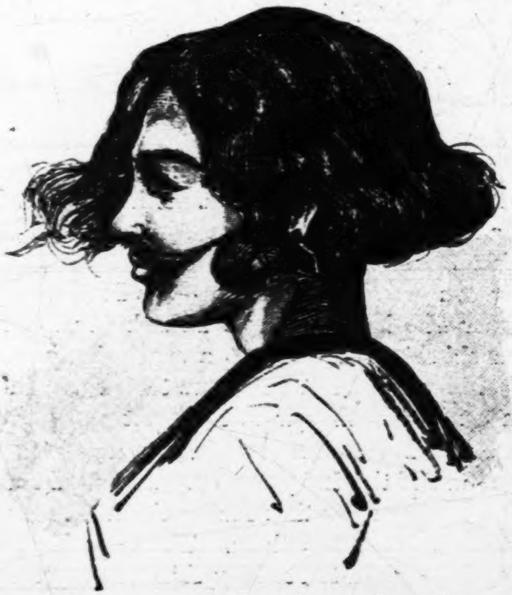
[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

161 Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very
[582] numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations
has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at
them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them
184 and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely
301 arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese
[177] brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces
which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by
rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in
291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad
in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are
made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals,
made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes
worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins.
283 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*,
227 though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose.
River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted.
They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

[142]
[302]
[304]



AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

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[1] [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. 283 237
The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their 123
portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were
immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I
came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the 888
one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, 732
her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of
an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long
wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance.
She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility
which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy [164]
is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature
thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the
pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them
as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on 361
the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1]
twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts,
and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with
seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the
Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than 342
those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, [184
in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives 23]
told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the 136
neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*,
female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce.
A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them,
and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly 133
along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems
to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly
bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil.
It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

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[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water. [192]

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river. [103]

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Watanabe

and I returned to Obishiro. It is not often that one anywhere 123
meets with such simple, straightforward people as these 609
Watanabes. They have lived alone at Obishiro for eight 574
years among savages, but never in my life have I met with more civilised, kind, thoughtful, gentle beings than Watanabe and his wife. As civilisation makes savages bad, I dare say savage life makes civilised people good! I go away carrying with me a deep affection for these gentle strangers, whose kindness to me has made them my friends.

The day came for me to return to the coast. My ponies, 133
probably frightened by bears, broke loose during the night, and one of them ran away; and I was rather in a difficulty as to how I should get back whence I had come. Watanabe, adding kindness to kindness, allowed me to have one of his ponies, and after repeated good-byes I started on my journey back to the coast. About four miles east of Yammakka the Tokachi River receives a large affluent, the Toshibets, or "river of high swamps." The Tunnui Puto is the largest of these swamps, about four miles north of the mouth of the Toshibets. *Tunnui* means a kind of tree, probably the *Quercus dentata; puto* or *put* means the mouth of a river. The course of the Toshibets River is almost from due north to south from its source, then for about six or seven miles from north-west to south-east, and, sharply turning again from north to south, continues in this direction winding continually for eighteen or twenty miles, till it throws itself with a large body of water in the Tokachi River. On the southern side of the latter part of the 361
watercourse are found the Ainu villages of Pombets, twenty-two huts; Purokenashpa,[1] three huts; Kenashpa,[2] twelve huts; and Beppo,[3] eleven huts. The characteristics of the natives of these villages and their habitations are similar to those already described at Frishikobets. The journey down was much the same as that coming up. Tobuts, on the north side of the Tokachi, is the largest Ainu village in the district,
and has as many as sixty huts. The inhabitants are possessed 157
of a somewhat fiery temper in this particular village, and the day 184
previous to my going through two men were killed in a row. 182

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[1] *Puro*, great; *ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.

[2] *Ke*, I; *nashpa*, deafening noise.

[3] *Beppo* or *pet put*, at the mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

172 the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small
extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the
[177] dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is
peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing
their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and
perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable
coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from
Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs
of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular,
which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on
the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the
shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the
coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a
sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the
elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however,
[342] are not built on pits ; and on my questioning the few inhabitants
of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence
of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own
ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or
not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded
them a great deal of amusement.

● 184 On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some
341 Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs ; but even in
132 the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not
as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River ;
but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle
of about 135°. In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture
have not yet been accounted for, and whether they
copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or
whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain
resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay.
I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford
342 an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi,
and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in
132 winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls
184 during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very
slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them
in winter, while during the summer months the rain should
fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the 342
north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts 132
have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to 184●
the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down.

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with [171] the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those [341] built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion.

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must 172 have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit.

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, 172
it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and
what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, 172
writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that 114
these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent, 144
and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo. They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would 114
have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the island in question. He would not then have committed so
many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan 141
are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give 184
a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 184 Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we 184 have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the 361 162 Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

114 Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koro-pok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

142 101 114 184 I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

in number, and ***not one*** of them is built over a pit, thus showing 142
that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken 114
information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance
with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as 184
regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to
cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial
observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy
from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and
have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited 114
the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group 184
of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. 291
Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form,
and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-skins [237]
(puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented
with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge
was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at
the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up
to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion
skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs
and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few 114
and migratory, and carried with them all their property when 184
migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic
Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with
these people is, that they constructed houses by making
shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed
over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking
resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe,
however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating
these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the
extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow
excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof
that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had
ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable
that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of
procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their
canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for
above-ground structures from one island to another—it is
probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they
had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

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[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir.*

119 to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September,
● 184 1890), where not only these Shimushir people, but all the
Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where
they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture
and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo
Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

184 Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so
suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly
above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing
they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation
after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief
structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as
severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing
to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the
best of what they found in their migrations from one island to
another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had
lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves
from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own
style of dwellings, which would have required too much time
and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in
the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to
occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to
admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in
any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I
believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At
194 any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to
collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually
saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have
speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of
the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation
as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they
came.

192 As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find
that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction.
Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few
have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint
arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there,
show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that
coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or
to fight the Ainu.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far 133
from the sea.

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at
a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord
promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but,
like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called
me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few
minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an
appearance ; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows,
and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be
had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook
to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake
Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes
due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a
south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the
summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo,
I had no difficulty in finding my way there ; in fact, I came
upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of 361
ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of
Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The [184]
village is a miserable one ; it differs from all other Ainu [342]
villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of
angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and
of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts,
and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I
led out into the open air to see what they were like. They 184
appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were
less massive ; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to [142]
baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled [291]
those worn by the Tokachi Ainu ; namely, a few rags held
together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed
on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of [304]
other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood 184
of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone
seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu 152
existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity,
but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely
racial and congenital.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I 600
could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever.

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow [361]
valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to 657
Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own 648
way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly 361
similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a sea- 184
man, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

650 648 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

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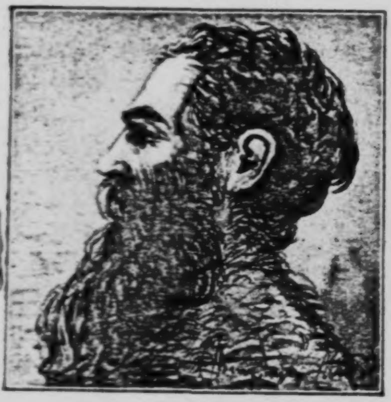
[142] [302]



SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 184 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. 291 184 The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manu- 291
facture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of 184
the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants.
As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of
a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of
puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women
wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the
fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu
of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache 301
tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very 304
few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for 184
that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they
possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal 301
ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly- 199
coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with 1439
the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at
Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and
overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous 648
to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid 302
Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to
trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by
the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these
nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was
complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed
was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu
became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main 199
occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the vil- 193
lage, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the
duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his
Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His
house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-
hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, 199
and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood 346
instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two 193
rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one
of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is
a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks.
Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in
rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

179 or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and
346 compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a
793 stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese
177 language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian,
191 besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday,
177 the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-
794 nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas
771 and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each
177 individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

161 As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before
[164] all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

184 As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what
[157] they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress
[300] their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the [184] women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair [291] hair. As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of [144] European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, [157] and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and 000 it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; [166] therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one 000 hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. [139] Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types. 142 304 [157] [149] 142

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake. 609 123 343 184●

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water. 132 000

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift. [137] [361]

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the 133 000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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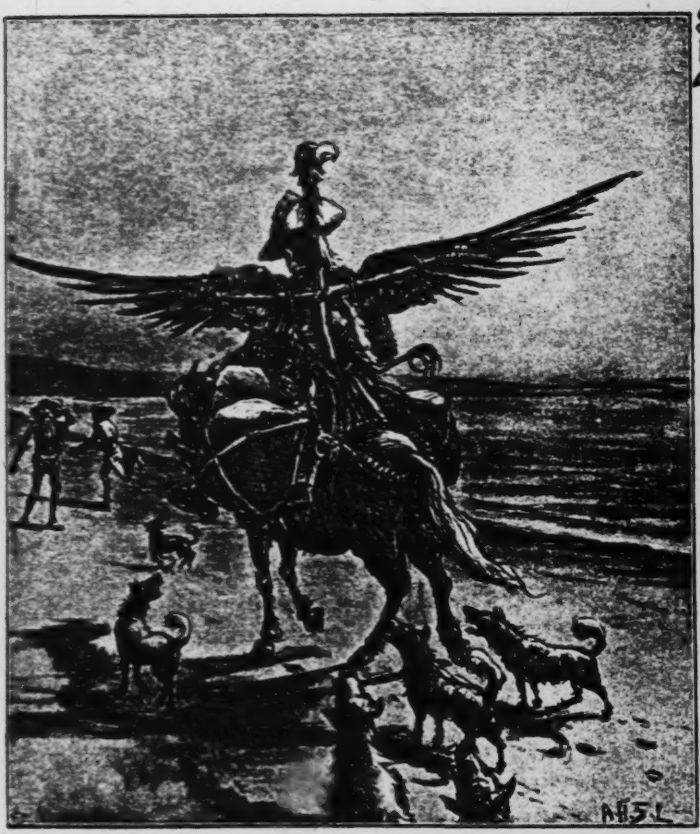

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed 142 184 000

[P. 145]

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Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure 48 is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; 171 while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain 080 to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

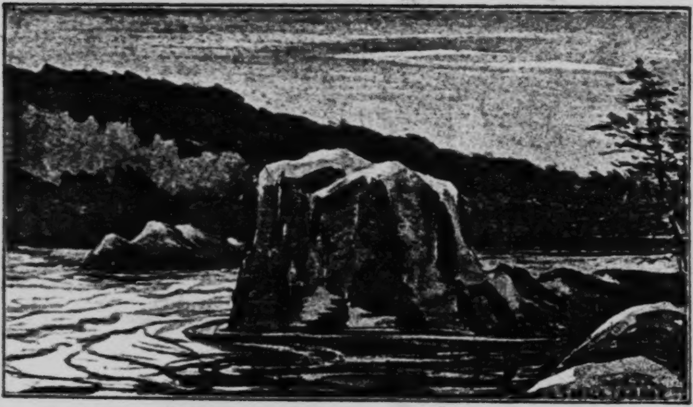
Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful [137] forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the 343 Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses [361] different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof 184 were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, 132 especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri, 080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THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an 361
Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives 167
of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another 600
wreck — of the "Kamida Maru"— a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the 142
Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, 184
"Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour ; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not ; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose.
Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and [164]
the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The 304
women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted 291
Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of 177

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[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

000 begun (*Ciuta Hombu*). Hundreds of convicts, who, by the way, have made the road between here and Poronai, were at work continuing the same road towards the east. I believe that eventually it will be prolonged to the north-east coast, where it will end near Abashiri. In my opinion the scheme practically will be a failure, for Kamikawa will never be a flourishing place, as there is nothing to support a large population. From a strategic point of view of course Kamikawa has the advantage of being in the centre of Yezo.

Kamikawa is 342 feet above the level of the sea, but it is well sheltered, and the climate, though very cold, is not quite so severe as in other parts of Yezo.

184
301 The Ainu of the upper Ishikari are nearly the same as the Saru Ainu, only somewhat taller and more ill-tempered. They show greater skill than other Ainu in wood-carving and general ornamentation. Along the banks of the river huts are scattered here and there; but the largest number is at Chubets.

000 At the present moment the Japanese population of Kamikawa is, with the exception of half a dozen policemen and as many civilians, composed entirely of convicts. These are dressed in red coats and trousers, and those who have committed murder have the top of their head shaved in the shape of a bottle (Jap., *Hetzui*). If any misbehave, they are beaten with the flat side of the long sword worn by the policeman in charge; but I must confess that otherwise the policemen are extremely kind in every way to these fellows. The well-behaved have one, two, or three small pieces of black cloth sewn to their left sleeve. They are made to work hard, but save this enforced diligence they seem to have a pretty good time. As I was talking to a policeman in charge, two dead men were brought on a cart by a man who had a towel over his mouth and a red blanket over his head. The two men had died suddenly. They had arrived only a few days previously from Southern Japan, where cholera was raging, and they had all the symptoms of having died of that deadly disease.

502 A very exciting way of retracing your steps down to the Sorachi River is to shoot the rapids in an Ainu "dug-out." You make one or two Ainu moderately drunk, as otherwise they do not seem anxious to attempt it, and when they are in

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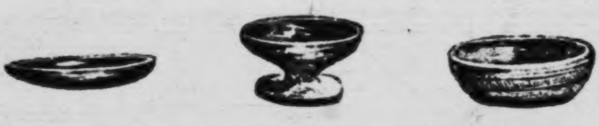

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone 341
beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent 184
varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru 342
River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched 184
with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider 342
how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

342 arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one
● [184] room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

463 There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own
342 architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive
[476] the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

591 Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter
[352] of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds
392 his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a
517 few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping
412 accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly
415 carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised 532
symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation.

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint 532
nor draw in any form ; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. 322
But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak.

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at 532
a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern ; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design.

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work ; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe ; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel 532
in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the 184
illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the 412
point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character.

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his 532
ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed 412
than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees ; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A

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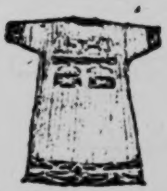
[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

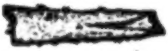
291 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either
177 adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after
the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters,
on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and
perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The
atzis reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body.
It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or
of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is orna-
291 mented with embroidery both back and front,
177 round the sleeves, round the neck, and all
531 round the border, or, as we should say,
hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese
coloured cottons and threads. The colours
are invariably red, blue, and white, on a
background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris*
cloth. They have the same characteristic
patterns, and are identical with the orna-
ments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c.,
as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the
291 Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only
those of the women are longer than those of the men, and
reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are
294 embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable
531 for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way,
562 do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the
simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches;
but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They
294 first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider
531 in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and
291 handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the
sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been
said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment.
●[184] Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different
tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according
to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It
takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the
elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a
chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions
are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple
embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the



BACK OF ATZIS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

1



BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

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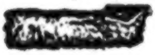
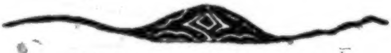


DEER-SKIN SHOE.



THE TARKA OR HEAD-BAND.

291 soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this 293 inventory be added a headgear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting [576] or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A [177] Japanese towel often takes the place of the [531] native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are 291 made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to 184 be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn 361 than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all [213] things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

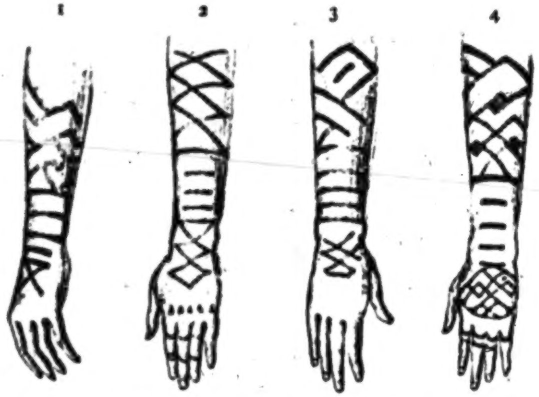
291 [554] These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the [622] "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

kobets (Tokachi River); Figs. 2 and 3 are the two arms of 304
Kawata Tera, a girl of Tobuts (north-east coast of Yezo); and Fig. 4 is the left arm of a girl at Piratori.



TATTOO-MARKS ON WOMEN'S ARMS.

[531]

It will be noticed that in the regions where the Ainu have 304
come in contact with Japanese, rings are tattooed round the [77]
fingers, while the Tokachi Ainu women have none. In the 184
two arms of Kawata Tera (Figs. 2 and 3) the dissimilarity of the two patterns is very marked at first sight, but on a close examination it is easy to perceive that the operator meant to carry out the same pattern on the right arm as on the left; only through his incapacity to reproduce correctly his former lines, or for other reasons, he got muddled up in the design, and left his work unfinished. If all the lines in the upper half of Fig. 3 were continued, the design would be very similar to Fig. 2.

Tattooing is considered an ornament, besides, as I have 304
already mentioned, adding the coveted air of "virility" to women. There is no religious feeling connected with it, and the practice is rapidly dying out, as the Japanese men make fun of the Ainu women, who after all only tattoo their mouths and arms, while they themselves often tattoo the whole of the body. The Ainu have no rules as to when the girls are to be operated on. They are done both before and after marriage, contrary to what has been said, that the women do not tattoo themselves

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among
142 the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the
184 Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and
273 thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

582 Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent,
144 but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally
142 malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and
158 hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses
151 are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

14 The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines forward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-
563 breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

612 601 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*huchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then, [582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 184 601 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *huchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

CONCLUSION

611 614 602 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 602 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese 648 settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and 177 hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural [657] implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting 241 cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under 177 Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area [184] to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with 241 the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, 177 resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, 182 since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long [771] as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

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[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of [175] agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

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771 remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices
made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A
[594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the
number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty,
[162] but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers,
361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing
grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically
423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was
expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and
● [184] common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local
groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im-
796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The
elders of each household in the local group, owning common
621 salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to per-
form the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the
[774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the
spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to
825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best
known of all Ainu rituals.
796

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu
175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier
posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

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[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further
researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa
uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people).
[622] Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim
to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single
[114] authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusakoro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184 ●

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurehärepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. [769] Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor).

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during [764] funeral rites.

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

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[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shinurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [776] [769]

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and
● elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently
the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special
purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
[826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as
the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

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[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:

(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.

(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.

(*c*) Dogwood (*utuka-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.

(*d*) *Push-ni*.

(*e*) *Opke-ni*.

(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.

(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.

(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*hiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They 824
are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an 778
epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to 782
represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For [532]
good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates [184]
the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south
good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*ruwe*). 778
The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, 782
Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, 776
together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of
the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the [825]
Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui,
the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival, [796]

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[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S. [776]

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (important)
782 *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*) (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

● 184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami province,
776 I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*.
Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[782] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my
[789] friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more
powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration 184
was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all 182
knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that
they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well 778
as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied
to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of 776
the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower 184
end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even 354
given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it
should properly be called ***shian shutu inau*** (Pl. III, fig. 1). The [562]
ekashi inau[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till [858]
they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a
risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height
is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are
given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged ***inau***, taller than those usually seen in the south, are 778
plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for
further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with 782
seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to 184
Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up [114]
for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi
Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged ***inau***,
his being called male (***pinne***) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (***matne***)
(Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt
as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the
ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (***shutu***) ***inau*** are interesting.
The male one resembles the ***ekashi inau***; the female recalls the
backward-shaven ***inau***, with the difference that the upper bunch
of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat
top, too, is similar to that of the ***inau*** offered to Kinashut Kamui.
Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to [755]
heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the
absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown ***nusa*** in the north, [243]
where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead
there is an ancestral ***nusa***, crowded with winged ***inau***. But Kinashut

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[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
● 184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, ***kinashut kamui inau***, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) ***nusa***, are ***inau*** of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) ***inau***, which is a sort of twisted shaven ***inau***, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an ***inau*** more highly finished than most, which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His ***inau*** is also called ***shian*** (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The ***inau*** called ***ekashi inau*** (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (***ihe-bashui***), which is a sacred object, is lightly
stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be
heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and
then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the
answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as ***inau***, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (***chisei noibe***). Batchelor calls them house heart (***chi sei sambe***), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

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[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-
782 day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the
approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The
function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of
[201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of trans-
mitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say
that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey
his meaning correctly.

778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the
212 underside are found on most household specimens and are the
532 owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal
ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and
awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles,
the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of
women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever
the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had
the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly
for protection and partly for identification in the event of death.
A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was
firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special
[782] prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-hashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to
Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of
the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to
[796] these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to
waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner
of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's
ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in
order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast.
It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many
such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities.
The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen
shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un
● [184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other
northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a
kamui itokpa on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

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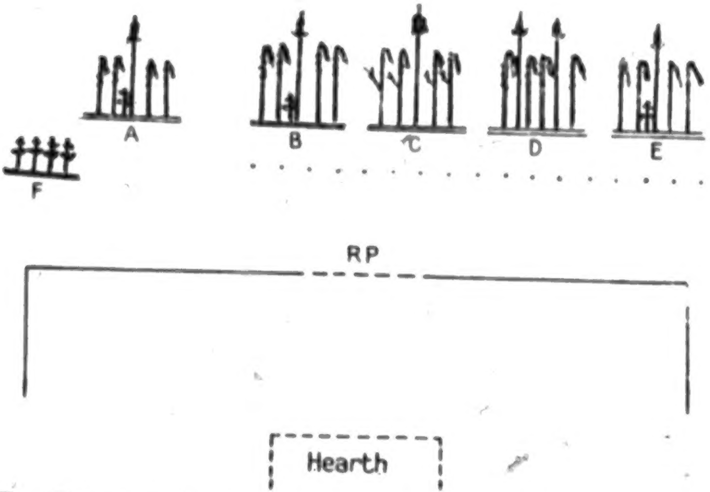
[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers 778
of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for follow- 782
ing the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations
in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfor- [184]
tunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost. [114]

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



Text Figure 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

- A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
- B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui
- C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
- D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
- E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui.
- F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
- R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusà-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inaŭ*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kahep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
[789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient
is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles
he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or
Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these
may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from
Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

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[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the
[796] bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference
between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

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776

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth. 778 [184]

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kamui). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*. [576] [782]

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers. 778 776 [774]

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be 778 776 796 782

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been 778
used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He 776
honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so 123
frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would
save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude 532
of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the
women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom 778
made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching
pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* 776
on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. 789
These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. 782
They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made
of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged [184] ●
inau. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male
being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene.
Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the
figures are taken to the *'ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed
with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII,
fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and
removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before
taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the [824]
head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms,
legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are
also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort.
Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use
swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk
resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and 778
is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth,
good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, 532
it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a 778
place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations 823
of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially
sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though [782]
the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits
or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one
cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

342

353 from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached
354 to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations
[796] were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders
[782] emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit
354 service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never
764 buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the
774 living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as repre-
senting one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less fami-
354 liarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the
775 dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground,
● [184] the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits
of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth
(Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty an-
cestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely
if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In
this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1]
kamui, powerful *kamui*.

354 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi,
776 and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder,
774 before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glow-
ing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every
night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out.
When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During
that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that
the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe
[688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no
[586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who
reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery
as a reason for divorce.

[796] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of
[782] food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an
oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is sup-
posed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth
before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were
erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

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[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the
796 location of the hearth, which must be free from contamina-
354 tion by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to
ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought
necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-
● [184] building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high
repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from
elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the
sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one
backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba
Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or
saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the
hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This
tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an
important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX,
[174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the
Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the
mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from
[782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen
has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui
Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-
holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing
ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had
one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for
527 detailed description because it includes the main features of all
Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits
incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model
of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which
the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and
is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before
a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an
old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even
now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of
● [184] detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few,
and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual
dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even
regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi
[774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba
Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch-
[789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against
evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof.
The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the
festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted,
an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui*
[782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they
are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

342

527 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the
782 ceremony of Falling Tears.

554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who
527 have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is
778 similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before
782 each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inauuk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a
[777] sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and
● [184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neigh-
782 bouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit
184 ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

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778 [1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
● 184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set
up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the
well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and
twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

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[1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963

AB6 Ainu ABC

769

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 782
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in 574
which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast
is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai.*[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given [184]
to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi
these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre
of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui,
saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside,
and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and
all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a
male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation
wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be men- [415]
tioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any
kind of decoration.

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[1] The word *iwai* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamui*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M. [192]

778

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects
of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but
the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating
them ensures health and longevity.

At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a back-
● [184] ward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set
up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an
ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is
curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given
a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having
performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired
by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told
that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded
in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main
services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intend-
ing to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.

[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in
carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again
placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to
a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
782 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a res-
ponsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

Blood way

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom 304
was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the [757]
infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of
words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed re- [789]
main, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three,
times as a spell.

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a [841]
taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to in-
flammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had [262]
to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days
and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least [784]
a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as [832]
emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great [517]
spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by [184] ●
general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow 278
poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of 776
which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery [192]

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[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

278 [776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

● [184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and [221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of [782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 755 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one [782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

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[776] [278] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collection of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites
observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, 764
but so far as I can learn they are slight. 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially 764
requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is 178
much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are
believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, 262
and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in [177]
the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to
bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase
of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at [271]
funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a [273]
village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for
the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa*
for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought un-
ground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies [256]
young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an [533]
elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers
the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different
from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has 764
eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need 262
of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food.
Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to [774]
the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the [782]
bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a
single chopstick set up in the middle.

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is 764
laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food 264
from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with
their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are [177]

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[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed [178]
by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his [593]
deceased wife.—N.G.M.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres [177] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

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[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *at-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

764 [774] to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] [776] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and,
[178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to
● [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

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[412] [844] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow
● [184] the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purifica-
[789] tion of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance
[783] doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

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The Ritual of the Grave-post

[184] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[532] *inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778
not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet [184]
high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like
a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular [532]
top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are
attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing
cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there [531]
are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1]
These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui
Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom [776]
she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the [774]
deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream [782]
where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body
on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany
and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui
applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic [823]
water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by
Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together
up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is
then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the
ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty
vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly
forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is [774]
regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is [776]
free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see
the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to
guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits.
The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the
dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

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[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which [184]
was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark
the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale
Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again
cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to
the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the
south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These
things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed
being then less likely to return.

[789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui*.

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she
had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this
was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It
was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
● 184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
178 about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and
some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are
prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered
to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna
Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui
Kotan.

789 *Variants in Funeral Customs*

775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me
(Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one
end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an
opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the
grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards
the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to
the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the
road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle
is placed behind it.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral 764
food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not 184
offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe- [262]
ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri,
called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide
it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and [776]
only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white
mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken.
The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They
differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as
amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave.
The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed,
that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard [177]
(*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give
her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common [264]
meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two
women with garments reversed take food left over from the com-
mon meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the
house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt
occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-
post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is
called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is
usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly
reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts [778]
differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles
the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm.
Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top
of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and
no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto
and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed 765
take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but 184
don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that [291]
[302]

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184 formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no
longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may
302 announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her
[812] hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not
prevent it from growing again!'

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that 769
the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the reli- 551
gious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life [182]
as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire cere-
mony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the house- [782]
holder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common 614
patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see
Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the head- 301
dress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are
handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must [4 28]
be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's head- 292
gear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

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[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above,
associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states [184]
that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the
Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which [776]
he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

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292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

771 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern districts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
782 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

795 769 825 776 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru district ● [184] every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, [778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the [614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri- [423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 769 776 114 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky) was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village) as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no information to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 769 614 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patrilineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

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782 845 [184] [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

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This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown 795
nusa, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important 769
elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan 614
Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). 782
Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, 845
p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown
kamui (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in [184]
certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below),
territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the
ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession 622
follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was 182
called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro
was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. [681]
Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that
since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting
and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated.
Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal [621]
family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8
Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged 621
with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights 423
in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring [224]
bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons
not belonging to these groups could not become members of
the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given
its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted.
Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain [428]
exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son.
These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on
the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite
poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another
kotan without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land 621
for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, 423
but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found 182
the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was [657]
associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's [114]
somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity
particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear [776]
deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. [769]

/769 cont./

847 heavy object. This procedure, however, though it has been practiced by a long line of generations, always remains highly dangerous for the woman and rarely ends unpunished. Old people told me that in youth they had often been witness of how this method of bringing about an abortion had only too often caused the death of the woman. I myself saw a very much degenerated woman who was almost always sick and who could never stand up straight. This woman died shortly after in my presence, and I was told that a few years earlier she had had an abortion by the method described by which she had ruined her health. Some old people told me that there were women who managed it so masterfully that they were able to kill the fetus in their body in this manner several times.

A second method of interrupting pregnancy is to lace the abdomen firmly above the waist during the first few months. The /770/ fetus disappears before the actual end of pregnancy, but in the months following a persistent pain remains in the sides. This method is considered very inconvenient since it is very difficult for a woman tied up in this manner to work. Much less can she take part in the passing flirtations for the sake of which she has resorted to these expedients.

To get rid of the fetus a woman will sometimes jump from a considerable height, for instance from the stairs that lead to the granary built on poles.

To the sympathetic, one can tell of another method, which in the belief of the Ainu women, is supposed to induce an abortion. The pregnant woman cuts her under garment in two [291] up to the belt, (this under garment is like a chemise which usually has the same length as the upper dress); she wears it cut in this way till the abortion has resulted. This technique is, however, not very widespread and it must be quite recent in origin since it was told to me only by one woman. The others who heard it were only surprised but did not confirm her statements. An old and probably often used method is rust, since ● [184] I heard of its use in the north as well as the south of the eastern shore. In the north they add a certain grass, but the men who

/770 cont./

847 told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted
● [184] with the women of these regions that I could have
openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu
tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed
[836] absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or
refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at
that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

847 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which
177 are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries
that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island.
But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods
from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered
people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they
probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they
[648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all
manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I
learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that
[824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a
very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many
methods are used; in view of the fact that in that country the
custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread.
Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiam kusuri
(Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which
they received on the condition of silence.

845 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the
847 same supersition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of
[842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their
opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such
an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one
to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the
diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the
suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins.
On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning
of the 19th century, Krasheninnikov, such a custom is
mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

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845 847 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for maintaining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so [124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained [777] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is [177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 782 778 ●184 789 [171] The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
● 184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika
I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence
of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the
same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear
that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others.
In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as
household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being
not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for
instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with
many children. She will use these constantly and she will
probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good
remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists
of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific
woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread
belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with
her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who
has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another
remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her
knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble
a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order
to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general
view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood
which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood
they will have a child born to them in the first or second year
of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60-62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880-85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups,
● 184 a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than
361 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group,
184 though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the 621
fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it 361
seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated 184
plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those [241]
of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from Matuura's diaries in Masamune, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been 476
rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and 621
house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by [226]
the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated
in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground [342]
and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male househeads and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group.
In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members [592]
of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43).
Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although [628]
there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus [582]
to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who 622
possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru*
kuru, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin [621]
group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted
to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual 622
known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details 788

582

B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of his wife:

a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as his wife's 1

(from Memroputu)

b) From other river group than his wife's.................... 3

(from Asahikawa in Ishikari)

In the *shine itokpa* group in the Satnai valley at ca. 1880-85, which consisted of 3 local groups with 16 households and formed a single river group itself, the proportion of the number of wives who married in from outside the *shine itokpa* group to the number of wives who were born and married inside the group seems to have been much greater than that in the *shine itokpa* group in the Tokapchi valley which was previously stated. The details will be given in Notes 23-24 on the following genealogical charts. [184]

227
226
In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance [462] of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties.

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it [184] was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families posses- [476] sing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it.

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some 226 groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a 227 505 pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream [184] on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*,

226 which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where
227 there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu
505 fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass techni-
[470] que. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two
[462] net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male
and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

226 The Meshing-net.

227 This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and
[592] take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough
● [184] and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for
instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the
[184] current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

226 Spring Fishing.

221 With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu
[251] population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu
household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from **the old year.**

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the
salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root.
Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a
great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in
search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using
the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the
mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary
of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in
the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-
hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The
hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon,
Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though
strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in
different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (Oya, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived
immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish resumed
221 their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon
hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap,
the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency
until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the
latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When
spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu
started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early
morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the
spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night
between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was
set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds,
while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive
technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy
spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more important
[562] part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper
Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase.
In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was
interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the
rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period
of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The
arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the
appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke
and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be
regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta
season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata
chep* from the earlier one(30). The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream
as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides
the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified
only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable
among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights
for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of
the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by
torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly,
for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination
with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season
the older males were occupid[1] in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized
314 in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably
311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usually
[484] done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back
at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries
and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were
[462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties
[157] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes
[177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member households
[184] of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the
Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done
no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,
[462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[39]. The old
techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women.
The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,
[221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of
field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible
[412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement
were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also
used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used
a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots
were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was
[412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The
[237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan
[221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during
the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part
of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru,
Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between
[311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was
[134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been
no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation
appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order
433 of[1] sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic importance
178 in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction
of agriculture in its rudest from,[2] the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is,
carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share
of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[1] for her own
family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres
of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[43][3], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced
the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
438 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the
coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4,[Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

Winter.—When the base snow began accumulating, those animals concerned 221
stopped their local migration and became inactive. Then the Ainu, whose 461
techniques were adapted to such ecology, stopped their positive gathering activities to remain inactive until the next spring, like all other animals; neither deer hunting nor salmon-catching was their business any longer, all bear hunters home from the deep mountains. It is true that some Ainu hunters went to the winter quarters of the deer to supplement the winter provisions for their families or their neighbours in the same group, but it seems that such supplementary or secondary activities used to be all over within the earliest part of the season. And now that their stores were fulfilled [574] and their outdoor activities over, festivity thrived among them all; they gathered for feast and ceremony, to which relatives and friends were invited from different local groups to observe the ritual killing of the bear-cub, which had been kept and fed specifically for this occasion (Note 67).

Except active hunters who used to go to their hunting huts every spring 221
and autumn for a period of usually about a month or more each, every one 311
lived in his own settlement throughout the year and would be engaged in collecting, fishing, and even hunting. The food plants which they collected were found distributed all over the river-banks and river-terraces. The distribution of resources were not restricted exclusively to any particular place, but in relation to their techniques, fishing and hunting grounds were roughly localized. For the Ainu fishing techniques, a concentration of dog-salmon spawning-beds and its surroundings were the best grounds. Thus the greater part of their time and energy for gathering were spent around their *kotan* near the river. It is very likely that the dispersion or concentration of a locol[1] group was correlated closely with its ecology in relation to salmon fishidg,[2] [182] especially its adjustment of fishing techniques to the spawning grounds. The interrelationship between cycles of gathering activities, sex division of labour and changes of activity fields are diagramatically shown in Fig. 7.

The sequence of gathering activities and their correlations with seasonal [184]
changes in their respective habitat are practically the same in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma except for minor fluctuations in individual activities and time of changes. The following phenological chart refers to Nitmap in the upper Tokapchi.

1. [Errata: the word "locol" should read "local".-Analyst]
2. [Errata: "ldg" should read "ing"--Analyst]

614 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu
778 concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the
pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-
offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special
614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940)
608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi*
● 184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase*
621 *ongami* (or *onkami*) ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases
cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and
not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the
relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. 614
On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* 608
as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, 621
the *kikeushi pashui*. 184

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a [611]
Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of
his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

16) When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, 621
a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came 602

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting 159
group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. 592
As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only 224
man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, 476
when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his
wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun [226]
staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs
with them.

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the 226
Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* 184 ●
(coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on 621
the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve [361]
of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a
shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and [628]
the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

44 (1) Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in 136
early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2 Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

769 known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their
life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of
Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and
huchi of the household', that is father and mother of the male
[273] household-head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion
as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out
by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after
finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the
traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962)
give some data on the subject in the later period.

224 (53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among
184 the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear
hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in
proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of
fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any,
on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was,
[226] however, the practice of sea-fishing.

776 Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the
182 customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits
attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to
have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division
and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology
of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

226 *Yanke tomari* and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river
[311] mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area
where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind
[136] and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together
and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the
[227] people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing
[286] with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-
23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction
of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except
in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was
a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was
the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops
could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari*
[136] *koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on
the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and
plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to
be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184] 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221] weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251] these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361] same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—Yanke sotki was the area lying next to 823 *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776 disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke sotki kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226 for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136] habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501] dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226 years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825 The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

Hence the great sanctity in which the
window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest 778
violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed 776
of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, 342
my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained [784]
from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's:
the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches
of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu
house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my [171]
attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear
killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures 342
and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, 343
these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of [178]
arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent
times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains [538]
is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics
known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, 342
altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido 343
Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position 361
of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the 778
storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the 184
altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes. 000

(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu (a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido), fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn [562] before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settle- [782] ment." (INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as 'the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i. e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

● 184 226 796 [115] The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6 ●
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RY1

G /1 cont./
101 As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have
144 been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding
nationalities, in many features of their material culture and espe-
T cially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from
A the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally,
G 131 /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the
197 first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, al-
most continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin
and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu --
on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialecti-
cal distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so
insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one
another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full aware-
T ness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the
131 Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another
197 and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divi-
sions of them speak dialects considerably different from one
another.

T Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in
A G their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic,
121 anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate,
● 184 small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

S These separate nationalities, separated from one another
T spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm
A G of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is
121 all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the
ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not
exist.

But on what basis are they to be classified?

S Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on
121 the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern
433 group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the
Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance
territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be
divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy,
in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders,
such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

RX2
Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3

A G 131 175 [198] [563] /122 cont./
began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for

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4. See above, p. 154.

A [648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak
area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island
was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese
mentioned above.

G 131 175 In summarizing everything that has been said about the
Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so
far as our historical information concerning this people extends,
which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable
G [174] change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether
and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other
facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

A 175 131 ● 184 While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going
back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the
Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people,
particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The
farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge
from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the
extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese:
they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and,
finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of
distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by
straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports
concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern
A 175 131 E.J. 175 181 ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half
millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries.
According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan

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A [113] 1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

G-
/129 cont./

103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name G- for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe [192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since "La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

G-
[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

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103 If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu, the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/ Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times; the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,

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Ainu AB6
Golbi RX3
Orok
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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/130 cont./

where the less bountiful natural conditions required them to trap animals over a wider territory, to live constantly on the sea and roaming on the islands, through which, however, they acquired great skill in navigation and, at the same time, a greater capability for further expansion.

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The historical reports concerning the Orok, the third people on the island of Sakhalin, are exceedingly scanty. The first information about them, though their name was not given, was obtained through the expedition sent to Sakhalin soon after

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1709 by Emperor Kang-hi. Upon their return the Manchu reported that there were no horses there, to be sure, but that at various places the islanders kept a species of tame deer which they used to draw their sleds (2). This only fits the reindeer-raising Orok.

F.J.
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Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth did the Japanese travelers, Mogami Tok'nai and Mamia Rinsô, learn more about them.

F.J.
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[103]

They called them "Orotsko," and the land inhabited by them, "Orikata." On the map of Sakhalin drawn by the first (3), a dotted line indicates the circumference of this territory.

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F.J.
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The line begins at the Gulf of Patience, coinciding approximately with the statement in Mamia Rinsô's travel report, where it is said that the territory of the Orotsko begins at Si and Taraika (4),

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2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, p. 13.

3. Siebold, Nippon, VII, Plate XXV: the map inscribed "Mogami Tok'nai 1786."

4. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189).

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4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

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detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6). ● [184]

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6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

/411 cont./

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only
302 in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photo-
177 graphs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of
southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned
171 hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the
Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style
imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the
Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid
hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not
● [184] only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places
where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus
(Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

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175 3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second
302 edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57.
177 Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht.,
[113] Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

[113] 5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

[113] 6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

[113] 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

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1. (cont.)
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 65).

● [184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul', Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

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no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, as in some pieces of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

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3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

G /419 cont./

302 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can
304 state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them
171 today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several
years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found
among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and
more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even
A though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the
302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced
304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this
[175] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with
the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various
flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as
A on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks
304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied
A [175] to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more
[184] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers
who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

A [113] 1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A [113] 2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105).

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304 113 2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

● 304 184 among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

304 175 3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, [113] "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

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A 304 175 [113] /419 cont./

3. (cont.) slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184 Rinsô (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

A [113] 1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304] It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386] 2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there